2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far.

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re-

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2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

Clothing for 3 children for year:	Cr. $
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100, 00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45, 00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75, 00
Total	220, 00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975, 00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3, 50
Salt, ½ kilo	1, 00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2, 00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1, 00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6, 00
Lard, ½ kilo	5, 00
Total for week	18, 50
Total for year	962, 00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975, 00
Food and household items	962, 00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122, 00
Total	2 059, 00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

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Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers or colonos on private fazendas. [648] [797] Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various 177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná-groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
● 12/ the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/12 cont./

/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/21 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

/13 cont./
114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

/14 cont./

[121] had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[114] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[127] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

[121]

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[82] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
125 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/28 cont./

/75 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
/61 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[67]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

/61 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
/62 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
/61 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

● /2/ It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
6/8 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[75] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./
121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
148 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná (26) show
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26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses." (27) Already by this
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27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors." (28)

28. Ibidem.

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175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
848 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

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The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

G M 175 648 571 /38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177 extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128 Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127] Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173] 55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 almost no help in reconstruct-
173 ing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work.
[128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
63/ ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[171] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 563 727 The first type of stratification established in the old Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even [171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

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66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú 178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

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67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[596] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[569] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
● 121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

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Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

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[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

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G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikinâu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

/70 cont./

178 554 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna communities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its [104] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have 121 128 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 36 [167] From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as [162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time [162] [103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a [162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

3:Oliveira--140 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./
Gi
433 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
511 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
241 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
439 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
Gi adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
[464] regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

● 121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

● /2) groups and, as intermediate situations, are the tribes that maintain "intermittent contact" and those with "permanent contact" with the national society. These four situations were conceptualized by Darcy Ribeiro (1957:7-14) through the examination of the "behavior" of the Brazilian indigenous groups over the last 50 years, in terms of the manner and rate of survival, the decharacterization or disappearance of their languages and cultures." (Idem:5.) The criterion used was "the systematic comparison of the situation in which the Brazilian indigenous groups were found at the turn of the century, with the situation in which they are found today, in terms of the degree of integration into the national society and, correlatively, the preservation or loss of cultural and linguistic autonomy." (Ibid.) Thus, "integrated" are the groups that "having experienced all of the constraints mentioned and having managed to survive, reached the 20th century isolated in the midst of the national population, into the

/98 cont./

121

economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ 648 177 assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna communities characterized above, it is seen that their components continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive [[28]] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 [[28]] The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] [621] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 621 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144] [166] the communities to change. The older communities, such as those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

3:Oliveira--160 E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

VII. Acculturation and Mobility

/177 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with,
/167 in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

/21 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/111 cont./

● /2/ (Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen, 1954:437.) Not all, however, emphasize the group, but rather consider assimilation as "a gradual process by which the individual comes to share the expectations of another group and slowly acquires a new set of definitions /cited in English/." (Merril and Eldredge, 1957:42.)--Actually the two concepts correspond to two different aspects of the process of assimilation which was recognized by sociologists such as Ogburn and Ninkoff (1950) and Osborn and Neumeyer (1936)--and which here too we shall take into account, introducing only one observation as to the difficulty of verifying the correspondence between the concept and the reality which it claims to embrace, especially insofar as the second conceptualization is concerned; in this connection we use the term assimilated as the opposite of segregated (and, in certain cases, isolated) to indicate two extreme "conditions" set up on a continuum; this

/111 cont./

●/121

> in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him desegregating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

[177] [619]

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

173. 1953:627-628.

/112 cont./

/121 Since this work by Beals, there has been a reformulation of the concept of acculturation (and its derivatives) on the part of a group of specialists in the social sciences, who drew up a document, in 1953, as a substitute for the "memorandum" of 1936 by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz. (174) In this

174. 1936:149-152.

document, acculturation was defined as "a culture change initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultural systems." (175)

175. Social Science Research Council, 1954:974.

In causal terms, the document adds, "acculturative change can be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it can be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological and demographic modifications induced by a cultural shock; it can be delayed by internal adjustments, following an acceptance of foreign patterns or features; or it can be an adaptation /two plates occur here/ /113/ in reaction of the traditional ways of life." (176) In this work, we have made use of this concept of

176. Ibid.

acculturation insofar as it has proved useful to an understanding of the consequences, in the cultural sphere, of the mechanisms of social, interethnic, and tribal interaction. At the basis of this, of course, there lies an implicit criticism of the theories of acculturation, insofar as they tend to regard cultural systems in themselves, often losing sight of the population or social group that bears them. (177) The emphasis given to behavior--

177. The approach of the British social anthropologists,

[Text continues on p. 164]

/113 cont./

● /2/ which basically objectifies changes that occur in behavior, seems safer to us, even though we must acknowledge the importance of acculturation theories in any detailed study of sociocultural change.

as it was defined in the previous chapter--averts this danger, and at the same time permits us to deal with the process of acculturation in the terms proposed above.

Following this initial operational formulation of acculturation, the concept will become more precise when we compare it with that of social mobility, in the sense in which both /terms/ were used by Richard Adams, in his research on ladinización in Guatemala. (178) By Adams, social mobility

178. 1956:213-244.

is understood as a process of change "undergone by an individual when he gives up the customs of his own class or ethnic group in order to become a member of another class or ethnic group." (179) Here two forms of mobility are combined:

179. Idem: 214.

horizontal (for Adams, equivalent to physical mobility), and vertical (in the already traditional concept of Sorokin). As the counterpart to this, the acculturation process is defined as "the change which a community or entire society undergoes as it becomes culturally more similar to another. It refers to the change in customs of all the members of a group, to the extent that these customs serve less and less to differentiate

/113 cont./
121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

● 121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

[121] of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

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190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
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191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
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192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in 125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must 319 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals, 162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

319 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these 162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/124 cont./

*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
● 121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

> 196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

/125 cont./

/2/ occurs in accord with the continuum referred to above." "This means that a person cannot change from a pattern of segregated identification to one of assimilation without, first, becoming marginal and, then, desegregated. Meanwhile, the change can occur in either direction of the continuum. To change from desegregation to marginal and to segregation, [128] is common." (197) Although we are not adopting this scheme

197. Idem:35. "Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others." (Idem:31.) /Cited in English./

in its totality--for many of the results of its application are open to question--, it is a useful tool for the aims we have in mind, since, wrought from the analysis of situations involving minorities (ethnic, religious, and national), it is more refined and it strengthens our criterion for measuring assimilation by the pattern of ethnic identification. (198)

198. We defined assimilation, at the beginning of this chapter, as the process whereby one ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing its cultural peculiarity and its ethnic identification. See also footnote 172.

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso.

[167] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

[361] [186] [571]

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

●121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/151 cont./

*177 128 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

> 212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it.--A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

● [12] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

*177 178 Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

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121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

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121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [177]

Assimilation of the Terena), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population, which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16-18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5-6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29-30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

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through the social field. But the continuity is essentially one of repetition. There is an expectation of sameness, depending upon how the concept is phrased. A structural principle is one which provides a fixed line of social behaviour and represents the order which it manifests" (R. Firth, 1955 : 2). Used in a heuristic sense, this concept of social structura would permit us to characterize the Terena social system—for taxonomic purposes or even for structural analysis—as having "a high degree of comparativity" (Cf. Nadel, 1957 : 125). Still, this would not present a complete picture of the existing social situation. This has been demonstrated by Raymond Firth in his 1936 classic *We, The Tikopia*, and in more recent articles (1954, 1955). He demonstrates the necessity of studying the way in which a social group reacts when, finding it impossible to fulfill the demands of the social structure, it must accept alternative behaviour. Taking for example a situation in which the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son are strictly regulated by structural precept, we might ask: What happens when there is no mother's brother (Cf. Firth, 1954 : 12-13)? Problems dealing with inheritance, name giving, social control, etc., arise when the necessary elements of the mother's brother/sister's son equation cease to exist, or perhaps never existed in a particular family. A recording of the responses of the group to such a contingency —responses which may at times become institutionalized particularly in cases of groups in transition— is just as interesting to the research worker as the examination of conventional behavior. In order to handle this problem, the specialist is forced to use the concept of *social organization*. "It (the concept of social organization) recognizes adaptation of behaviour in respect of given ends, control of means in varying circumstances, which are set by changes in the external environment or by the necessity to resolve conflict between structural principles" (Firth, 1955 : 2). Comparing, then, both these concepts, that of social structure and that of social organization, Firth makes clear that: "If structure implies order, organization implies a working towards order —though not necessarily the same order" (ibidem).

Even though there may be a tendency in the study of a structural system to emphasize the recording and analysis of the "highly stable uniformities" in order to make possible the construction of models, the above precise operational definition of these two concepts demonstrates that care must be taken not to exclude from the scope of the study the dynamic aspects of the social system, whether these aspects have reference to pathological items[6] or to more "normal" processes

[6] Durkheim, in "La Division du Travail Social", when he treats of the "Division du travail anomique" (Book III), observes that one of the most useful procedures for determining with the greatest precision the conditions

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121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

563 174 Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] [920] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives